462 ditions offer opportunities to the kind of man who is clever with his hands and with tools. As such a man usually works for people who live in the same village or are members of the same clan, what usually happens is that the "clever" friend is invited to come over to lend a helping hand. A large part of his reward is in the opportunity to show his superior skill. When the job has been done he is invited to dinner, or if he is a poor man he is given some grain. Such opportunities are not enough, however, to enable a man to become a full-time specialized artisan.

Two Monguor artisans, self-made men, gave me the clue to the answer to this problem. "If there were no rich people," they said, "and above all if there were no monasteries in our country, we could never have been able to make a living as artisans; we would never have been anything but helpers. Because of the monasteries and the rich people, however, we are able to work all the year round and to take on apprentices." For this kind of artisan employment, rich people and monasteries provide the materials and the artisan provides only the special skill in using the materials.

463 A youngster who is handy with tools and wants to be-
874 come an artisan invites two elders of his village to go with him at the New Year to see the artisan to whom he wants to apprentice himself. He presents the traditional "scarf of felicity" and two pieces of meat. The elders stand as surety for his obedience and honesty. He makes nine prostrations to the master artisan and promises obedience. A contract is then signed by the guarantors, the master artisan, and the boy. The period of apprenticeship is usually three years, during which the apprentice lives at the home of his master and in addition to learning his trade works, without pay, at all kinds of odd jobs, such as preparing his master's food, and working in his fields in the busy times of sowing and harvesting.

After three years, if the master is satisfied, the apprentice prepares a sheep and wine and invites his master, his two guarantors, and the former apprentices of his master to a feast. He presents his master with a gown or a pair of trousers or boots, prostrates himself nine times and receives from his master a set of the tools of his trade. He is then himself a master-artisan, and although he still has to work another year for his master, he is now paid for his work. For the rest of his life he feels indebted to his master and bound to help him whenever asked.

415 One of the minor industries engaged in by Monguors
313 is the manufacture of wooden bowls and small wooden
[322] boxes. The wood used is poplar, which is turned on a lathe and then coated with oil. Another small-scale occupation is the making of charcoal. Monguors living near forests belonging to lamaseries pay the monastery for the right to cut trees from which they burn charcoal which they take to the towns to sell. Other Monguors buy trees as they stand in the forest, cut them, and saw

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

the boy will obey his master as he obeyed his parents. By this ceremony, which is a real adoption, the novice is constituted the legal heir of the fortune of his master, who usually possesses a home or a small courtyard inside the monastery, some animals, and money. The novice will stay with and serve his master his whole life, the master caring for his subsistence, keep, and education.

FIRST VOWS

After a few days, on a new auspicious day, the ceremony of the taking of the first vows is performed. In the early morning, the master himself shaves the head of his pupil. It is said that a layman is not allowed to be present at that moment. Five Gelüng [5] lamas arrive; one of them sits against the wall of the k'ang, and the other four, in pairs, sit opposite each other. The kneeling novice holds incense sticks in his hands and the Gelüng starts the ceremonial prayers, reciting the thirteen traditional vows which the novice repeats after him. Nine prostrations are given before a picture of some Buddha, and the chief of the Gelüngs makes a speech. The boy thanks the Gelüng and his master by prostrations, and the vows are taken. From that time on the boy is called *Wendee*.[6] In some monasteries only two Gelüngs preside over the ceremony; at Seerkok, only one. The master then enters the name of his pupil in the roster of inmates of the monastery. The master alone is the judge of the aptitude and religious vocation of his pupil.

The master starts the education of his pupil by teaching him how to arrange the house altar, sweep and keep the house clean, care for the stables, collect cow dung for fuel, draw water, milk the cows, tend the animals, graze the cattle, prepare food and tea. The novice is the genuine servant of his master, a cheap laborer. However, when the novice is not engaged in domestic duties, he receives religious education from his master, which starts with the study of the alphabet and reading of texts, and at the same time he repeats daily after the master and commits to memory the texts recited in the head temple. When he has learned them he is allowed to attend the morning ceremonies and to share the benefit of hot tea every day, to partake of the many meals, fixed according to the calendar of the monastery, and participate in the distribution of the alms.

Memorizing is the most important point in the program of studies. Later on, the master helps his pupil to read and to commit to memory the texts used at funerals, for diseases, to protect the herds, the harvest, etc., because these texts will help him to make a living in the future. Every morning the pupil recites the prepared texts before his master. During his spare time, when he is not engaged in domestic duties, he has to

[5] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[6] *Ibid.*, 171, Ge-nen-Bandi-Rab-brun—Gelüng.

commit the texts to memory, punishments being inflicted if he is slack in his scholastic duty. No haste or fuss is made about the matter of study, for master and pupil possess endless years for the job. No dignitary at the monastery inquires about the studies of the pupil or the teaching of the master; the intellectual and religious education is a family matter, a duty between master and pupil.

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SECOND VOWS

At the age of eighteen the novice takes his second vows and is called *Gelüng*. According to the rules, the vows are only allowed to be taken at the age of twenty, but at eighteen, one year is added for his father and one for his mother, and the required twenty years are complete. The ritual for the taking of the second vows, which number 253, is the same as for the taking of the first vows. A minor Living Buddha or a Fa-t'ai is invited to preside over the ceremony, after which an official religious name is given to the novice. The family and friends of the novice are invited to attend this important rite and they bring gifts with them, such as meat, rice, raisins, jujubes, Chinese noodles, rolls. A dinner is served, and each of the guests upon leaving for home receives two rolls from the novice.

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The taking of the 253 vows is the highest rung of the ladder of Lamaist dignities reached by 99 out of 100 lamas in Huang-chung. Although the appellation of "lama" is officially reserved for monks who have passed this stage, in Huang-chung it is commonly used for all monks who have taken the second vows, and usually indiscriminately for all people who wear the lama clothing.

Old lamas naïvely admitted that in former times a lot of lamas of Huang-chung used to go to Lhasa to complete their studies and to obtain higher titles, but that at present, because the former reputed centers of learning in Tibet had fallen into a state of deterioration, no lamas are traveling to Tibet. It may be that the monasteries of Huang-chung have declined, and no appeal for serious studies is felt among the lamas. During the Moslem revolt of 1872, hundreds of lamas fled to Tibet and came back after the rebellion without having seized the opportunity to increase their knowledge.

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After the second vows, the scientific and religious education is complete. The lama can then read a text more or less correctly, without understanding it. He cannot write a letter, but is able to recite a number of texts, which he has committed to memory in order to assure himself a living. Every morning he attends the ceremony in the main temple, where instruction is given which very seldom has any appeal to him, since he cannot grasp its confused meaning, being engaged the whole day long in domestic duties. No elementary or high schools exist at the lamaseries; there is no special instruction for boys and teenagers; no religious guid-

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ance is provided by an experienced spiritual director and adapted to the needs of turbulent young people. There is no novitiate. A young lama's director is his own master, who himself has received no scientific or religious training. The pupil tries to imitate the older lamas. He listens to their conversations and observes their actions. This lack of real education makes an experienced man pause. 792 874

RELATIONS BETWEEN PUPIL AND MASTER

The Wendee, after becoming a Gelüng, does not leave his master, but continues to serve him to his dying day. A lama enjoys the highest respect and love of his family, especially when he is young. His master allows him to make frequent visits to his parents, for it pays him to do so. The saying goes that lamas are quite like married girls. When they visit their family, they take nothing with them and ride an empty horse, but when they leave their father's home their horse is loaded with gifts. The lama never returns from his parents without having received some clothing from his mother, having his clothes mended, and having received some sweet rolls, meat, and pickled vegetables. His parents slaughter a sheep or kill a pig, and a piece of meat is sent to the lama and his master. The master enjoys these small gifts and they help smooth the relations between master and pupil, who have to live congenially together, enduring each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. The intelligent master tries to cultivate good relations with the family of his pupil because this will help to make the pupil obedient and avoid friction between them. 792 571

Old, experienced lamas told me often that the problem of the pupil is of overriding importance and is a nightmare to many lamas. The young people now are not as unsophisticated as in old times. The master, an uneducated man, who has never learned to restrain his own passions and temperament, is usually not a man qualified to educate a wild pupil, but the fault does not always lie only with him. The stumbling block in the education of pupils is to be sought, not usually in the home of the master, but outside the monastery, where the pupil goes every day for hours on end, to collect fuel or graze the animals. Boys of seven, eight, and ten years of age meet with teenagers, already thoroughly corrupt, who pervert them and plant in their hearts the seeds of evil weeds which are likely to thrive for the rest of their lives. [867]

Among these groups of young lamas all the shortcomings of the masters of the monastery are discussed, the pitiful conditions of the pupils, the disappearance of pupils, the accusations at the Chinese courts of masters by their pupils, the successful removal of a part of the master's wealth by the pupil. These young folk listen all night long to the conversations of the older lamas, who know, to the last detail, all the scandals of the lamas and of the monasteries of the whole country, who 792 867 571

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Apprentices who receive part of their training for a couple of years from another shaman, during the summer time, and who acknowledge him as their master, offer him a gown upon completion of their education. In return, they receive a drum from him. The rules of apprenticeship among the shamans are the same as those already noted for other apprentices, such as carpenters.

The overwhelming magical significance attached to the drum by the nomad shamans is lacking among the Monguor shamans. Among the nomads, when the apprentice, after completing his depressing training, beats the drum for the first time, he becomes hypnotized and tranced.[25] Although the Monguor shamans consider the drum a sacred magical object, the same overriding importance is not attached to it.

The drum is built in a primitive way. A handle is attached to an iron circle with iron rings, which produce noise when the drum is beaten. On the iron circle is stretched a piece of goatskin, which has been soaked in water and shaved. On its surface are often painted crude pictures of heaven, with the sun, moon, the big and the little dippers, stars and clouds. The drumstick is usually made from peachwood or strips of goat hide twisted together.

THE KNIFE

The shamans use a knife when driving away the evil spirits. The knife is twelve inches long and two inches wide, and pointed at the end. To the handle are attached noisemaking iron rings. Sometimes the Chinese knife used for cutting noodles is substituted.

THE MAGIC STAFF

The staff, which is of wood, seems to be an important tool.[26] To the top is affixed a copper mirror surmounted by a three-pronged iron fork to which tassels of red rope are attached. The staff ends in an iron point, so that it may be planted erect in the ground during the time when council with the spirit is asked for. The magic staff is a tool used by lamas and Taoists as well as by shamans. The staff of the lamas differs from that of the shamans in that the mirror is surmounted by a copper skull, while above the skull is the point of a spear. The staff of the Taoists has an octagonal shaft with an iron point on top.

Each time, before performing a rite, the shaman asks his spirits in the staff about the most fitting rite for the circumstance, the sacrifice to be offered. The answer is supplied by the twelve spirits making the arms of the shaman shiver, and so he knows how to conjure evil spirits who harm persons, families, or herds. It is always called *Yang-t'ou san-ch'iang*. (I could never get an explanation of this Chinese term.) The staff is used when the shamans go into private families in order

[25] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 79.

[26] Ugo Holmbergs, Siberian mythology, in *Mythology of all races* 4: 522, Boston, 1927.